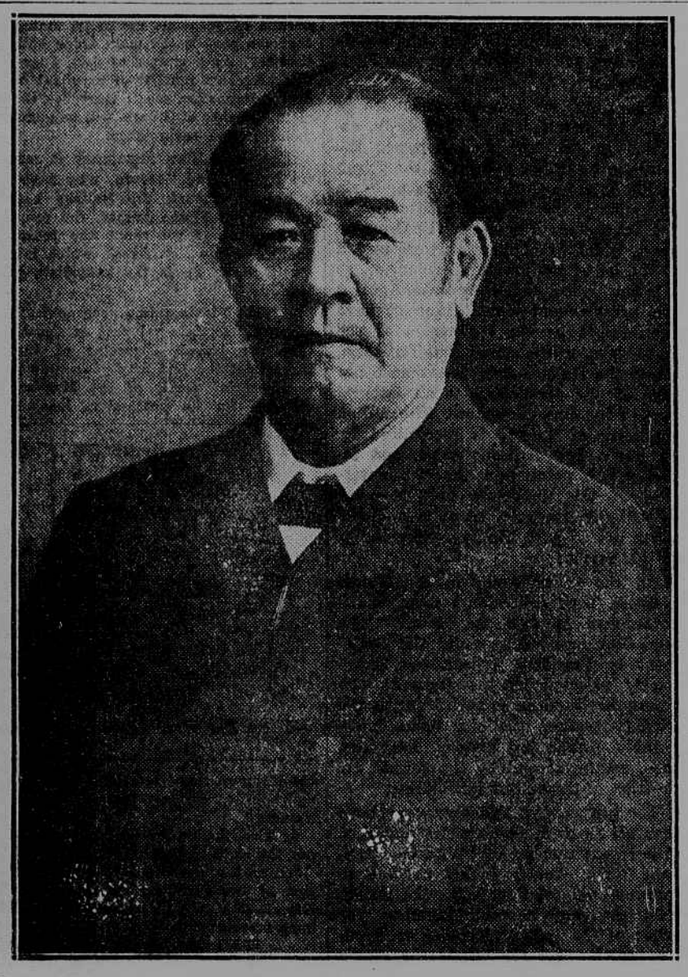
Shibusawa Says That "East Is West"

BARON EIICHI SHIBUSAWA has contributed an article to the January issue of "Taiyo," one of the leading magazines of Japan. He deals with several important aspects of Japanese-American relationship, observing:

"Japan has never enjoyed perfect equality among the nations, in spite of the fact that some fifty years have gone by since she entered the company of the great powers of the world. Perhaps it is largely due to the historic fact that Japan has been isolated from Europe and America for a long period of time, during which she has created a distinct civilization and peculiar customs of her own. Naturally, in many cases, our form of advancement bore little relationship to the progress of Europe and America. This historic isolation tended often, no doubt, to encourage the building of a race barrier. Moreover, the difference in the matter of religion might have been one of the strongest causes operating behind discrimination.

"But we can no longer accept this state of affairs under present day conditions. From the standpoint of ability, character or sentiment we cannot think that there is much difference between the Occidentals and our people. There is a difference in stature, and the color of our skins is not the same. But it is absurd to say that a man is of low intelligence because he is smaller than others, or that he is of superior intelligence she entered the company of the great powwhitier than that of his fellows."



Baron Shibusawa, one of Japan's "big political guns" and business experts

Baron Shibusawa refers in this article to the old trouble in California, which seems still an obstacle in the way of complete cordial relations. "It is wrong for us," he opines, "to rush into arguments." But the cure should be based on "a free exchange of views." He states that it has been his earnest desire to bring about this exchange, and adds:

"In this connection, I thought it an excellent plan to attend the exposition held at San Francisco, especially in view of our relations with California. I was not asked by our government to attend it; neither was I asked by our people. But some of my personal friends urged me to do so, and because I took the same view, I went to America in the winter of 1915 and tried to do my best in the hope of lifting the discriminatory treatment prevailing in California.

"At that time I thought of another matter, namely, that there might be a possibility of friction between America and Japan over the industrial development in China. America had occupied the vantage position of a neutral country in the great struggle and her wealth had increased enormously. To begin with, her territory is tremendous; she is rich in men and gold and her resources are many. Therefore, her need for expansion into other countries was comparatively small. At the same time, I thought that she would think of expansion as the result of the huge accumulation of her wealth through the war. It was evident that she would try to expand in the direction of South America, but at the same time she would extend herself also in the direction of Asia, especially China. Now, China is the country which has the most intimate relations with Japan—as intimate as lips are to teeth, or as those of wheels to the cart. In China we have achieved much in the past; she is the country with which we have always thought to march side by side. If America were to adopt extreme measures in China, in total disregard of others, and thereby call forth a storm there, it would prove much more serious than the California troubles. Such, at least, were my thoughts at the time.

"About that time there was organized a great corporation in the City of New York for the overseas activities. It was planning business on an important scale in connection with the European war. I was told that the controlling personage of the great corporation was no other than Mr. Vanderlip, president of the National City Bank of New York, the most powerful banking establishment in the city, and a central figure in American finance. I had an opportunity of discussing with him the question of the American-Japanese coöperation in the work of developing China. He did not agree with me on all points. At that time the political relations between Japan and China were not happy. I surmised that Mr. Vanderlip thought that at such a time America had nothing to gain and much to lose through joining Japan in any enterprises in China. But he was entirely with me on one point, that it is wrong for America and Japan to fight each other in the Far East, and readily agreed with me in my contention that we should prevent any such disaster.

"Some two thousand years ago the Chinese declared that a man's character does not depend upon the whiteness or blackness of his skin. The fact, indeed, is too evident for extended comment. But, once they are brought together in harmony, the East and the West can learn much from each other.

"The Anglo-Japanese Alliance is an excellent example on this point. It was based on political policies. I think if the people of America and the people of Japan succeed in really coming together they can most effectively realize the ideal of the fusion of the Occidental and Oriental civilizations. That is the conclusion we always reach whenever I discuss with any of my friends our relations with the United States.

"When I visited the United States in 1915 I paid a visit to Dr. Eliot, president of Harvard University, famous among statesmen and scholars. He was then advocating the league of six powers. His idea was that when the war is over the six great powers—Great Britain, France, the United States, Italy, Russia and Japan—should band themselves into one great league for the preservation of the permanent peace of the world. Such a league would settle the question of the command of the seas once and for all, in the first place. And if there be a criminal power which would dare disturb the peace of the world, then the league should unite in fighting it through an embargo on supplies and other effective means.

"He said to me at the time: 'I presume you know Marquis Okuma intimately. Would it not be an excellent idea to bring this matter to his attention on your return home and, if possible, persuade him to have Japan propose the league of six powers?' I told him that I thought the idea admirable, that I agreed with him entirely, and that immediately upon my return to Japan I should do everything for the success of his suggestion. But I pointed out that the plan would never succeed unless America would respond, and asked him if there was a reasonable probability of a favorable action on the part of America. The doctor told me then that he could not make a definite assertion on that point. As for the things which Japan would propose at the peace conference or upon which she would venture to express her hopes—they are almost limitless in number. But just what would be the attitude of the peace conference toward such suggestions from Japan is a thing which is difficult for one of us outsiders to predict. Speaking frankly, I rather doubt if Japan would be able to gain much for herself even if she were to push herself into the centre of discussions of prime importance. It would be difficult for her to secure the commanding position of originating and advancing measures. In short, Japan is likely to add her consent and give her support to all the major propositions presented to the conference by the great powers, except on such matters and on such points as she feels called upon to protest against.

"On the question of the league of nations presented to the conference by President Wilson, the point calling for a deal of thought and care is just how far Japan can go and what are the views of our government about it. Take for example the matter of shipping. Japan has paid special attention to the extension of her shipping, both her people and her government having enthusiastically joined in the effort to develop this particular business, and, as the result of the war, her shipping business has developed still more. Now, just what attitude would the peace conference take toward this exceptional growth of our shipping activities? I presume this sort of detail would hardly come up before the conference. Nevertheless, it is a weighty question.

"And what disposition is the peace conference going to make of iron, cotton, wool and other raw materials which our country either does not produce in sufficient quantity to satisfy the home demands or which she does not produce at all? What is the attitude of the conference toward the international disposition of such raw materials?

"Then, how will the money relations change? Will the old England-the-world's-financial-centre scheme stand as of yore? Or will other centres arise and divide the power?

"Whether America and Japan shall be suffered to coöperate or to collide in the future is the thing which should command the utmost consideration of us all. The most vital of all is the consideration and settlement of the problems in the Far East—more especially the Chinese question. In that, I most earnestly hope that the powers will hold to the policy of fulfilling both in letter and in spirit the repeated joint declarations of the United States and Japan regarding China. The territorial integrity of China, equal opportunity and the so-called 'open door' policy are of course the fundamental basic policies. Meanwhile we Japanese should maintain our paramount position there under all circumstances in precisely the same sense as the special position of the United States in Mexico."

Wayside Points of View

Cloud Gossip

THERE is one serious objection to air passenger travel. It will not do for any one concerned to fall down on the job.—*Scranton Republic.*

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Reason

"Come now and let us reason together, saith the Lord," is an argument in behalf of argument which can have no higher authority, but the advocates of the proposed league of nations as now planned are as violently opposed to argument as were the free silver advocates of 1896.—*Manufacturers Record.*

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Those Peaceful Russians

The Russians were the first to make peace and they have been fighting ever since.—*Toronto Globe.*

Spring Song—I.

—From *The Milwaukee Sentinel.*

Open Season, Please!

It is hoped that the league of nations will permit an open season for Mexican bandits. The breed seems to call for a thinning out.—*Los Angeles Times.*

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Yet Some Seem to Think So

Soldiers of the A. E. F. were not fighting to make the world safe for the I. W. W.—*Philadelphia Public Ledger.*

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Egypt, 1919

Take it from recent dispatches from Egypt, just at present the Bedouins aren't singing any love songs.—*Buffalo Express.*

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Got, Wo Bist Du?

The word "Gott" appears to have disappeared mysteriously from the German dictionary.—*Dayton Journal.*

Spring Song—II.

Oh, Well, Spring's Here.
—From *The Indianapolis News.*

Senator Reed and the Fearless Fifty

AS MIGHT be expected, Missouri still wants to be shown whether or not Senator Reed is voicing the people in his consistent opposition to the league of nations, not to mention his objections to the course pursued by the President. His explanation before the state Legislature as to why a Senator of Democratic affiliations should adopt views so divergent from his companions was not enough. "The St. Louis Post-Dispatch" sent a staff correspondent to Jefferson City to observe the Senator's attack—a Democratic Senator on a Democratic President before a Missouri Legislature in joint session. The correspondent saw in it "a political drama never equalled in the history of the state." Republican legislators, though not all of them, cheered lustily; the Democrats, on the other hand, either listened silently or "stamped on the floor, making no effort to conceal their dissatisfaction and disgust." In the cold light of numbers and estimates the correspondent makes the following remarks:

"The Democrats who left the House chamber and refused to return to listen to the speech included such members of the Legislature as Farris, of Phelps County, which, in 1916, gave Reed a plurality of 375; Whitecotton, of Monroe, which gave him 3,000; Clapper, of Schuyler, which gave him 335; Hunter, of Randolph, 3,000; Killam, of Lincoln, 1,000; Anderson, of Scott, 600; Edwards, of Dunklin, 2,000; Tolson, of Howard, 1,700; Sapp, of Boone, 3,300; Watkins, of Buchanan, 2,700; Chancellor, of Barton, 600; Fergusan, of Ripley, 300; Berry, of Pulaski, 350; Clark, of Ray, 1,700; Hall, of Clay, 2,500; Poston, of St. François, 700, and Job, of Nodaway, 300.

"These are representatives of the strongest Democratic counties of the state, the counties which always have been relied upon to produce the majorities which meant Democratic state victories in Missouri. They were the counties which nominated Reed over Francis in 1910, and elected him; which elected him over Dickey in 1916. They are the banner Democratic counties of Missouri."

Furthermore, fifty of the sixty-seven Democratic members of the Missouri House of Representatives adopted resolutions condemning the course of Senator Reed in his general attitude of antagonism, and calling on him to resign. This Senator Reed agreed to do if his challengers would follow suit and put the whole matter to a popular vote by the people of the state. Quite a number of Democratic legislators took up the Senator's offer, and so the matter rests, with the possibility of the league of nations being brought up as an issue in the state that wants to be shown.

This being the reception Senator Reed has received in his own state, "The Louisville Courier-Journal" believes that "when the Missouri Senator, repudiated by those who elected him, extends his canvass into other states he will not score a palpable hit in the political drama in which he has cast himself as the hero."

Meanwhile, "The State Journal," of Madison, Wis., looks forward with considerable pleasure to further appeals to the people. There are, in its opinion—

"enough of these Senators to provide practically a nation-wide referendum—Hale, of Maine; Moses, of New Hampshire; Brandegee, of Connecticut; Calder, of New York; Frelinghuysen, of New Jersey; Penrose, of Pennsylvania; Harding, of Ohio; New, of Indiana; Sherman, of Illinois; Reed, of Missouri; Thomas, of Colorado; Johnson, of California; Borah, of Idaho, and Poindexter, of Washington. These Senators are so distributed that a vote in the primaries and at the polls in their respective states on the issue of their reëlection as opponents of the league of nations would be an accurate index to the mind and purpose of the American people."

And, moreover:

"It may be taken for granted that none of these Senators will quibble over a lack of precedents for such action, for there are plenty of precedents. The classical example is the case of Senator Conkling and Senator Platt, of New York, when they resigned because President Garfield had made an appointment to the Collectorship of the Port which was objectionable to them. Their referendum was to the state Legislature and they were both defeated; but the Senators who are against a league of nations are not restricted to such a limited method of vindication. Senators are now elected directly by the people and these men can appeal directly to the people.

"Men have died for the Declaration of Independence, for the Constitution of the United States and for the Monroe Doctrine, which these gentlemen say are to be nullified by the league of nations. Surely none of them is afraid to pledge a paltry Senatorship to test the sentiment of the American people on this great issue."

In general, Senator Reed has met with little but adverse criticism in payment for his Missouri speeches. "The St. Louis Post-Dispatch" devotes a long editorial to the Senator's "bitter campaign," which is such as to arouse and "strengthen international suspicion, jealousy, envy and hatred—all the passions that make for separation, conflict and war." "The worst kind of statesmanship," the editorial concludes—

Senator Reed Amuses the Elephant.
—From *The St. Louis Post-Dispatch.*

"is that which argues the hopelessness of the future from the evils of the past and which would block progress through fear of failure. Public men who try to check the earnest efforts of enlightened statesmen to realize the eager desire and ardent aspiration of war-ruined peoples to avoid the recurrence of destructive militarism and the horrible welter of war from which the world has emerged, are not serving their own country or the world. Public men who appeal to suspicion, jealousy, envy and hatred to block a noble plan to establish international law and organize a league to safeguard justice and peace are antagonists of civilization and enemies of mankind."

In much the same vein "The Rocky Mountain News" declares that "the Reed opposition in truth has caused sincere opponents of the international incorporation to hesitate when they find the Missouri Senator in their company."

"The Oklahoman" calls the resolution of the fifty Democratic members asking Senator Reed to resign "an impressive expression of popular faith in the President, a convincing promise of popular support, and a pledge from Democracy in Missouri and elsewhere that the anti-Wilson Democratic Senators will be retired in order as fast as they appear for reëlection."

On the other hand, "The Nebraska State Journal" gives Senator Reed the credit for "putting his opposition to the league of nations on understandable grounds." Thus:

"The Senator thinks war can be abolished only by men becoming so listless they will refuse to fight when attacked. In other words, unless men degenerate, war must continue. He sees no other way to end it. Hence he is against the effort to prevent it. That is clear and honest. No one who is in favor of war or who is convinced that nothing can be done to prevent war or ease its violence has any business favoring a league of nations. Senator Reed is in the right pew."

"The Kansas City Journal" sees the whole thing resolving into a game of "political poker," saying in conclusion:

"The fact of the matter is that resignations would settle nothing that is not already virtually settled and which will not be unequivocally determined in due and constitutional time. Nothing could be clearer than the all but certainty that the league of nations plan will never be ratified by the United States Senate in its present form. Nothing is more probable than that it will never be presented for ratification in its present terms, and it is more than possible that it will never be presented as an integral part of the peace treaty. In the mean time, some statesmen, both great and small, are getting some fun and more advertising out of grandiose threats or promises to resign if somebody else will do the same. Nobody is convinced and nobody is in any serious danger of losing his job. It is all part of the game of political poker, which is not nearly so consistent, so dangerous or so full of human nature as the real game itself."

Are We Downhearted?
—From *The St. Louis Republic.*

THE GOOD SHIP HOPE—By Mme. Lucie Delarue-Madrus

Translated by William L. McPherson

Here is one of the exquisite little sketches which it is natural to expect from the pen of Mme. Delarue-Madrus. No other writer of French short stories has quite her poetic and subtle touch. She is a poet first and always—even in prose.

A LITTLE beyond the last pier of the port, at a point where the sand bars become threatening, the carcass of a ship had thrust itself deep into the mud.

For how many years had the poor old thing lain there? In spite of the squalor in which she was slowly rotting away, she had still, when night fell, against the rosy depths of the sky, an astonishingly graceful outline. One recognized in her at once an ancient bark, with decks spaciously built, a fisher of sole or herring, capable in former times of spreading her sails in view of the English coasts.

If inanimate objects have souls, ships are certainly endowed with them, since they have all been christened, just like human beings. My ship, a melancholy silhouette on the edge of the estuary of the Seine, remembered and reflected. From the joyous day of her launching till the tedious hours of the present she had known all that it means to live between the sky and the ocean, when one is a fish by virtue of hull and a bird by virtue of sails. Dedicated to the wind and the waves, now caressed, now brutally beaten, she had during her long career loitered through the sluggish calms and plunged and tossed through the black tempests.

Surely her history had included many moments of supreme peril, when her two sailors and her cabin boy began to think seriously of the little Chapel of Mercy, high up on the hill, which contains among its incensed shadows the little wooden boats and the big three-masters, miniatures which guard against shipwrecks, and of the vows which sailors make to Our Lady at the last minute before venturing on the main.

She pondered and pondered—the old ship. She recalled the beautiful hours in port when, at low tide, her cargo of fish discharged, her sails furled, she tugged gently at her moorings and creaked in her eagerness to go to sea again.

To go to sea again!

Since she had lain in misery in the mud she had longed for the tempest, the cyclone, the tidal wave which would pluck her from her slime and restore her to the deep, before destroying her utterly, a sunken wreck amid the other sunken wrecks. She wished that for one second, for one second only, she might again cleave the waters, like the share of a plough.

To go to sea again!

It is well known that the dying, when they are about to render up their souls, go back in memory to their childhood days. The old bark recalled continually the day of her baptism. Then she had neither masts nor sails. She was bare then, as now. The Alpha and the Omega of a ship are very much alike. Then she was naked but new, the paint and varnish hardly dry. And her magnificent name glittered in the sun, white letters on a red background: "Hope."

"Hope!" The sugar-plums tossed and the grains of wheat scattered; the Latin of the priest and the smile of the godmother, the excited crowd and the bell ringing in the church tower—all that fête of long ago had no other motive than to give her her name.

"Hope!" Gliding down her wooden ways she had descended to the stream, majestically, with the natural movement of a swan entering the water. Glad shouts had greeted her first contact with the element for which she was conceived and constructed. Had she not then believed that a début so triumphal was the sure augury of other enchanted days and that such a launching could only start her toward a destiny of dreams?

But what resemblance is there between being a fishing smack, manned by three poor fellows with no poetry in their souls, and the fairy promise of a baptism like that?

No! The bark which they launched was not intended for so gross an occupation. She was fitted to glide on waves, soft as a cradle beneath her, through sunny days and pearly nights—to glide rhythmically, wreathed with flowers, to some happy isle where the creatures of her dreams awaited her. If the Prince Charming and the fairy were not to embark on her some day, why that bouquet and those ribbons for the top of the mainmast? Why those sails, spread like a flower with five petals?

Alas! Now, an old wooden skeleton, with sides broken in, cast up there in gray mud, she saw the living ships pass out of port, spreading their white or darkened wings. With all her poor old forces she called to them:

"It isn't true! You must see that it isn't true. There is no Enchanted Isle, no Prince Charming, no fairy. There is nothing but three poor fellows who fish for sole. Your sails are only for common, everyday use. And your beautiful name, whatever it may be, will not prevent you from ending in the sepulchral mud where I am now. There is left to me but one letter of the word 'Hope,' which, like a promise, painted in white on a red background, once decorated my bow. 'Hope!' What irony! 'Hope!' What a lie!"

A nocturnal squall at the beginning of the summer came near making the old ship believe that her deliverance was at hand. But by morning, the gale having subsided, she had not taken to the sea. On the contrary; for sand and pebbles, scoured up by the wrath of the waters, now surrounded her on all sides. And she thought:

"No one can see any longer that I was a ship. I am buried. Then I must be dead."

The evening passed. Night came. The moon shone clear. The days after a storm are always marked by an almost supernatural peace, as if nature were attempting to repair the rudenesses of the day before.

In the silence in which the tides, white and velvety as milk, broke almost without a murmur, voices drew near.

"Oh! a ship!" some one said in a musical tone. "Shall we go and sit down there?"

"Anything you wish, my darling," answered the tender voice of a young man.

And the skeleton ship saw the two appear, the Prince Charming and the fairy—she all white and he pale blue, with a pale blue casque, and garbed, as it were, in the rays of the moonlight.

"My hero!" exclaimed the young girl.

"When the war is over we shall be married," said the young man.

Seated beside each other, facing the horizon, they clasped hands. They were making an imaginary voyage on the dying bark.

"You see," said the fiancée, "how well it was that we came here to spend your six days. How beautiful the moonlight is! We have embarked at night for some happy isle."

"Yes, I am dead," thought the old ship. "See, at last I have entered my paradise."

And laid triumphantly on the prow of the sad wreck, just at the place where they had formerly painted the word "Hope," the fiancée's bouquet, all of roses, perfumed the night and the sea.

Peace Conference: Tenth Week

Sunday, March 23

THE Budapest government was reported to be signing a proclamation acknowledging a state of war between Hungary and the Entente. Oswald Garrison Villard, returning from investigating conditions in Germany, made his report to the American commission and to David Lloyd George, saying that food was the one factor which could relieve the situation.

Monday, March 24

Increasingly serious news of the situation in Central Europe caused leaders of the conference to call for energetic action toward hastening completion of work.

Reuter's reported that efforts were being made to conclude the treaty in one week's time.

Tuesday, March 25

The American commission, it was reported, was determined on an amendment protecting the Monroe Doctrine, to be inserted in the league covenant.

A general impression prevailed in Paris that an early peace was rendered impossible by radical disagreement between France and America.

Besides the Hungarian troubles, Britain reported that revolt was spreading over Egypt.

Wednesday, March 26

The Italian delegation notified the peace conference of the abolition of the military and commercial blockade of the Adriatic, a step which is believed to have resulted from the Bolshevist movement in Hungary.

Encouraging reports were received of the shaping up of the peace terms by President Wilson, Premier Clemenceau, Lloyd George and Premier Orlando of Italy.

Thursday, March 27

Announcement was made that the amendments to the league of nations contained no reference to the Monroe Doctrine or to the racial equality of nations.

Practical agreement was reached on the reparation to be demanded of Germany.